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226 daily tasks. Hence every other type of fishing, with the excep-
 462 tion of the occasional mass-catch of ilēšči, is avoided as much as possible (297).

297. According to Hyades (h):20: "...the ease with which they get fish among the large algae relieves them of all the work of making a fishing pen" /translated from French/, and the same is equally true of similar arrangements.

222 5. Birds. Birds' eggs are also counted among the foods from the animal kingdom by our Fuegian natives. Earlier travelers, for example, Fitz-Roy (a):184, often observed that "eggs are eagerly sought for by the natives" /cited in English/. Spring is the time for them. Wherever the family lands, the girls and women hunt
 [462] for the nests of larger birds. They do not choose among them, nor does it bother them if the eggs have been sat on for some time. Their hunt is, without exception, rewarded by a rich harvest, for they are very familiar with the brooding places of all kinds of birds. Gathering is very easy where penguins brood, for they lay large eggs. The women bring their harvest to the canoe or the hut in their little baskets, and it is promptly consumed. They never risk any special dangers in order to obtain birds' eggs.

223 At the beginning of summer they also take young birds of large species still in the nest. They kill the tender animal by hitting it on the head with a stone or stick or by beating it hard against a rock. Above all, when they search out the breeding places of cormorants and penguins, they quickly fill their baskets with this game. Young cormorants cannot escape beyond the immediate vicinity of their nest because their wings cannot as yet carry them from the height of their nest into the sea, and penguins are likewise nest-bound because they do not yet know how to move in the water.

23/ For entertainment and out of playfulness, the women also like to take an occasional young bird to their hut where they feed it until it is full-grown. If it proves tame enough, it is

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- 23/ kept alive; otherwise it is one day devoured. This explains why in early summer in the huts of the Indians we find at least half a dozen young birds, all very familiar with each other, although they usually belong to different species. They belong to the family (298), so to speak, and are a plaything for children.

298. Lothrop (b):159 "has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed" /cited in English/.

B. Food From the Vegetable Kingdom

- 262 The inclement weather of the Cape Horn Archipelago permits only a few types of plants to reach maturity, and the soil yields only a very few things that the Indian can use for food. A vegetable diet has no basic significance for them. It would be inaccurate to speak of actual subsistence on the vegetable kingdom. The Indian gets only a small taste from it now and then, which, as such, is monotonous and, in /554/ comparison with his meat consumption, quite unimportant (299). Mother Nature

299. Fitz-Roy (a):185 expressed himself very definitely on this point: "Of vegetable food they have very little: a few berries, cranberries, and those which grow on the arbutus, and a kind of fungus which is found on the birch-tree, being the only sorts used" /cited in English/.

voluntarily offers him fungi and berries of various kinds, and these, as we realize, are mere condiments. They are gathered only by women and girls; men strip off a few fruits in passing and immediately pop them into their mouths without any kind of preparation.

[462] 1. Fungi. If we consider the conditions of vegetation in the Yamana region, we are not surprised to find a great abundance of mushrooms and fungi there. /Fig. 66 appears here./ There are no very poisonous kinds. Some are spongy; others have a woody

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[262] texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough as it is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few *Cyttaria* species, among which *Cyttaria darwinii* Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as Es2f; when it is ripe it is called aus2f. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as am2f or Esam2f. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-



Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch. Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they reach them off with their toes and catch them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120:1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222 With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the *Cyttaria darwinii* are always found on trees and are edible in any

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222 phase of development during all the other months (301).

301. Outes (p. 52 has collected descriptions of this type of fungus from the pens of several observers. In addition to this there are data by Spencer: 64, 100, 103.

/555/ A less widespread variety, and fully matured only in the autumn, is alim, Cyttaria harti F. BD:46 writes osuyim; "a small dark brown pear-shaped fungus which grow in clusters out of an excrescence which forms on the wood like a band" /cited in English/. This yellowish-brown, pear-shaped fungus, ranging in size from an orange seed to the seed of a small wild cherry, appears in rows on thin branches of the Antarctic beech. One can very easily strip off the whole row with one's half-closed hand and catch them in a small basket. The black uskeyon meema (Cyttaria hookeri Berk.) is still smaller, the shape and size of a grape seed. It likewise forms on beech branches in rows.

[K2] Although women and girls like to pick these two kinds, it is not their habit to gather them and bring them to the hut; they eat a few handfuls on the spot. The men do likewise, but less often. The alim (Cyttaria harti) is much preferred to the other.

Other types of fungi are of less importance to the Indian woman than isef (Cyttaria darwinii). The latter is easy to obtain along the edge of the forest, whereas the other kinds are to be found chiefly or almost exclusively inside, in dark shade and in thickets. Women almost never go that far, or perhaps only to fetch wood, but they almost never go deep into the forest just to gather fungi. The large tree fungi, aman, are valued the most as long as they are still soft and meaty, and among these yelus above all, which, according to BD:649, is "a soft, watery, and large flesh-colored fungus" /cited in English/.

262 The Fuegian eats about ten kinds of fungi (302), but I am

302. Bridges mentions "one very important item in the food of these people, which is fungus, of which there are about twenty varieties, some one or more of which are all

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the year round abundant /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116:1869). He is saying a little too much in the first part of this statement.

not in a position to give all of these their exact botanical names. It is very remarkable that he eats only those that grow on trees, never those growing on the ground. Each species matures in one particular month, which is why the Indian could at any time give himself a little variety in his monotonous meat diet by using fungi. "Fungi of many kinds are also all the year round much used as food, different kinds coming in at different seasons" /cited in English/ (Bridges [a]:213).

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It is left to each individual to hunt occasionally for a few fungi whenever he feels like it. The only ones actually gathered are the very common Cyttaria darwinii which are strung up on small sticks in the hut and kept for a time in a dried state. Bridges (MM:VII, 121:1873) is obviously exaggerating when he attaches special significance to fungi in the daily household of the Yamana.

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When there is a famine, however, the people use fungi to help out as long as they can find them. Aspinall:270 expresses himself more accurately when he speaks of the individual foods in order of their importance: "For their subsistence [these Indians] are dependent solely on the hunt; /556/ in an emergency they content themselves with a diet of mussels. Digestive difficulties that may result from this are healed with a diet of fungi." Fungi are neither more nor less than a rare, occasional addition to the main diet.

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2. Berries. It is obvious that the Yamana can enjoy berries, amāim, for only a few weeks. The most common are amāitugur, the fruit of Pernettya mucronata which sometimes covers extensive areas in the form of a low shrub (Fig. 12 /untranslated; see foreign text, p. 121/). In spite of the hard points on the leaves, women and girls move through the bushes and pick the ripe crimson berries, gather them in their little baskets, and take them to their hut. Less common in that region is the /Fig. 67 appears here/ smaller Pernettya pumila (Fig. 67), the fruit of which is called Yanamāim, and the somewhat taller Empetrum rubrum, ašana, the fruit of which is known as šepisamāim. These two bushes have only small fruits which attract the Indians less.

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222 The ripe berries of Berberis buxifolia, hümär² amāim, taste good and are much sweeter than the berries of Berberis ilicifolia, čelijamāim. The former are easy to strip from the small twigs by hand and gather into a basket. An Indian woman would not bring home large quantities of these berries because a handful of them is all that anyone wants, but anyone who happens to pass these bushes strips off several berries and eats them immediately.

The small Rubus geoides, one of the Rosaceae, creeps along the ground in light patches of the forest and on the edge of it. Its fruit, pālxāčix, which ripens in late summer, resembles a raspberry in size, shape, and color, but is less sweet. Women pick these also, but only when they are gathering čepisamāim and



Fig. 67. Pernettya pumila. Natural size.

amāitogur¹ and inevitably come across isolated fruits of Rubus geoides. Our Indians do not have a taste for the fruits of Myrtus nummularia, but they like to pick the easily obtainable hupufamāim, the clusters of the hupuf bush (Ribes magellanicum), which likes the light and grows chiefly on the edge of the forest.

/557/ This concludes the list of the berries that are considered at all edible in the region of the Yamana. The fruits of Gunnera magellanica, for example, have almost no meat, and therefore no one touches these tuxalamāim. This is also true of the small fruits of other species.

262 3. Other Plants. Other products of the vegetable kingdom can be regarded as actual food to an even lesser extent than is true of fungi and berries (303), but there are a very few plants, as

303. Bridges' (k):227 way of expressing himself is therefore misleading: "The

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himself. For instance, he says (MM:III, 116:1869): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/: in ED the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[252] Some people like to roast the celery root at the fire and then chew on it.

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It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/558/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

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In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (d):248 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegian to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

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The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

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assured us: "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All later observers, for example, Hyak. (p. 323), vouch for this general rule.

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Although the Fuegian literally lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer ~~him~~ his duty to cut up the booty he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 314). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributors (p. 308). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone observes.

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A law given by Yoflox says that berries -- actually, only those of Pernettya mucronata -- may not be gathered prematurely, and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many amfin there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "amfin agñu, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries removed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /589/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At certain times determined by ancient custom, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

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Only occasionally is a person carried away to real immoderation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called limja which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always